

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W
-----014436 091611Z /45
O 091553Z AUG 78
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5335

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 MOSCOW 18892

NODIS

CHEROKEE

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM TOON

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: SALT, UR
SUBJECT; MOBILE ICBM LAUNCHERS

REF: STATE 185976, MOSCOW 18769

1. ACTING FOREIGN MINISTER KORNIYENKO SUMMONED ME 1500
AUGUST 9 TO GIVE ME THE OFFICIAL SOVIET RESPONSE TO MY
DEMARCHE OF JULY 25 ON THE MAP ISSUE. AS KORNIYENKO
INDICATED ON AUGUST 8 (MOSCOW 18769), THE FORMAL RESPONSE
ESSENTIALLY REITERATES THE POINTS HE MADE INFORMALLY ON
JULY 25.

2. AFTER READING THE NON-PAPER (FULL TEXT BELOW), I TOLD
KORNIYENKO THAT FRANKLY THE EMBASSY'S FILES WERE
NOT PRESENTLY UP TO DATE ON THIS ISSUE, AND I THEREFORE
WOULD NOT UNDERTAKE TO ASSESS THE MERITS OF THE ARGUMENTS
MADE IN THE BODY OF THE SOVIET PAPER. I WOULD OF COURSE
TRANSMIT IT PROMPTLY TO WASHINGTON.

3. KORNIYENKO SAID HE WANTED TO COMMENT ON A PERSONAL
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BASIS THAT THE OFFICIAL U.S. POSITION ON MAP WHICH I
PRESENTED TO HIM ON JULY 25 HAD MADE "A VERY, VERY POOR
IMPRESSION." IT INEVITABLY RAISED THE QUESTION OF THE
U.S. SIDE'S SERIOUSNESS IN TRYING TO REACH AN
AGREEMENT, BECAUSE ONCE AGAIN THE U.S. WAS POSING NEW
QUESTIONS AND CREATING NEW OBSTACLES.

4. I REMINDED KORNIYENKO THAT OUR RAISING THIS MATTER
STEMMED FROM THE THREAT TO OUR LAND-BASED SYSTEMS POSED
BY THE ACCURATE MIRV CAPABILITY BEING DEVELOPED BY THE
SOVIET SIDE, AS STATED IN OUR NON-PAPER. FOLLOWING AN
INCONCLUSIVE DISCUSSION OF THE EFFECT OF ROCKET ACCURACY
UPON DETERRENT CAPABILITY, KORNIYENKO ASKED IF I HAD HEARD
ANYTHING ABOUT WARNKE'S COMING TO MOSCOW WITH AN ANSWER
TO THE QUESTION POSED BY GROMYKO IN GENEVA.

5. I TOLD KORNIYENKO THAT AS I HAD SAID YESTERDAY, THE
U.S. SIDE WAS PRESENTLY CONSIDERING WHAT ADDITIONAL STEPS
SHOULD BE UNDERTAKEN. I NOTED THAT SECRETARY VANCE HAD
TOLD GROMYKO IN GENEVA THAT PERHAPS IT WOULD BE A GOOD
IDEA FOR WARNKE TO COME TO MOSCOW, BUT, AS I RECALLED IT,
THE SECRETARY HAD NOT MADE A DEFINITE COMMITMENT.
KORNIYENKO AGREED, BUT SAID HE HOPED IN ANY CASE THAT AN
ANSWER WOULD SOON BE PROVIDED.

6. OUR INFORMAL TRANSLATION OF SOVIET PAPER FOLLOWS
(RUSSIAN ORIGINAL BEING POUCHED TO S/MS, SHULMAN).

(BEGIN TEXT) A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS OF PRINCIPLE ARISE
IN CONNECTION WITH THE COMMUNICATION TRANSMITTED BY
AMBASSADOR M. TOON ON JULY 25 OF THIS YEAR CONCERNING THE
MOBILE BASING OF INTERCONTINENTAL BALLISTIC MISSILES.
IT FOLLOWS FROM THIS COMMUNICATION THAT THE UNITED STATES
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WOULD WISH TO RESERVE FOR ITSELF THE POSSIBILITY OF DE-
PLOYMENT, DURING THE TERM OF THE AGREEMENT, OF MOBILE
ICBM'S IN A MANNER WHICH PERMITS THE CONSTRUCTION OF A
GREAT NUMBER OF NEW SILOS, IN EACH OF WHICH AN ICBM CAN
BE PLACED. THIS IS CLEAR ALSO FROM THE SUPPLEMENTAL
EXPLANATIONS GIVEN BY AMBASSADOR M. TOON.

THE ASSERTION CONTAINED IN THE COMMUNICATION OF THE
AMERICAN SIDE THAT SUCH AN APPROACH IN SOME WAY CORRES-
PONDS WITH THE ELABORATED PROVISIONS OF THE DRAFT AGREE-
MENT ON THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE WEAPONS
HAS NO BASIS WHATSOEVER.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF ADDITIONAL LAUNCH SILOS FOR ICBM'S
WOULD BE ABSOLUTELY INCOMPATIBLE WITH UNDERSTANDINGS
WHICH HAVE ALREADY BEEN ACHIEVED. AS IS KNOWN, AT
VLADIVOSTOK IT WAS AGREED THAT THE PROVISION OF THE
INTERIM AGREEMENT OF 1972, WHICH FORBIDS THE CONSTRUCTION
OF ADDITIONAL SILOS FOR THE LAUNCHING OF ICBM'S WOULD BE
PRESERVED IN THE NEW AGREEMENT. A CORRESPONDING
PROVISION IS ALREADY FORMULATED IN THAT PART OF THE NEW
DRAFT AGREEMENT, WHICH HAS ALREADY BEEN AGREED TO BY

THE PARTIES (ARTICLE IV, POINT 1).

IT IS CLEAR ALSO THAT EACH ADDITIONAL SILO INTENDED FOR
THE LAUNCH OF AN ICBM WOULD HAVE TO BE INCLUDED IN THE
AGREED AGGREGATE LEVELS OF STRATEGIC WEAPONS. OTHERWISE,
HOW IN THIS CASE WILL VERIFICATION BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL

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ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W
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O 091553Z AUG 78
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5336

S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 02 MOSCOW 18892

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CHEROKEE

MEANS BE ACHIEVED?

NEEDLESS TO SAY, WE ARE NOT QUESTIONING THE UNDERSTANDING
ACHIEVED EARLIER CONCERNING THE RIGHT OF THE PARTIES TO
HAVE MOBILE LAUNCHERS OF ICBM'S UPON THE EXPIRATION OF
THE TERM OF VALIDITY OF THE PROTOCOL, IF NO OTHER DECISION
IS TAKEN IN THIS RESPECT. HOWEVER, THE APPROACH TO THE
DEPLOYMENT OF MOBILE LAUNCH VEHICLES TAKEN IN THE
COMMUNICATION OF THE AMERICAN SIDE CONTRADICTS ALL PRESENT-
LY EXISTING BASIC UNDERSTANDINGS, AND THE SOVIET SIDE
REJECTS IT.

MOREOVER, THE INTENTION EXPRESSED BY THE AMERICAN SIDE
DEPRIVES A NEW AGREEMENT OF THE VERY ESSENCE OF ITS
MEANING, AND IN FACT IS DIRECTED AT UNDERMINING A NEW
AGREEMENT. THE CONSTRUCTION OF A GREAT NUMBER OF
ADDITIONAL SILOS FOR ICBM'S WOULD INEVITABLY LEAD TO A
NEW ROUND IN THE ARMS RACE, WITH ALL ITS ATTENDANT
CONSEQUENCES. (END TEXT). TOON

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: INSTRUCTIONS, ICBM, SALT (ARMS CONTROL), CHEROKEE 8-9-78, MEETING REPORTS, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, MILITARY ASSISTANCE PRO GRAMS, TEXTS, BRIEFING MATERIALS, CAT-C
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 09 aug 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978MOSCOW18892
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: P850067-1896
Format: TEL
From: MOSCOW
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780883/aaaacrcy.tel
Line Count: 166
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 1ee36d66-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: 78 STATE 185976, 78 MOSCOW 18769
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 29 jun 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1792859
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MOBILE ICBM LAUNCHERS
TAGS: MMOL, PARM, UR, US
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/1ee36d66-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014